UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Verbal Brickbats

By ANNA GARLIN SPENCER

Emil G. Hirsch

By JENNIE FRANKLIN PURVIN

Did Clemenceau State the Truth?

By JOHN MEZ

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. XC THURSDAY, JANUARY 11, 1923 Number 17

HYMN.

Written for the Dedication of The New Community Church, New York City, December 31, 1922.

O Father, for this temple
  Our thanks to thee we raise;
Our ashes turned to Beauty,
  Our heaviness to Praise.
The waste anew is builded,
  The desolation healed;
Our sacrifice and labor
  By thy great mercy sealed.

Accept, O Lord, this temple,
  An offering to thee;
Make it a sign prophetic
  Of days that yet shall be—
Its rock-hewn base the Justice
  That holds the stars in awe;
Its walls the Love triumphant
  That vindicates thy law.

Here may the quest of knowledge
  Be loos'd of bar and ban;
Truth be the holy passion
  That mingles man with man.
Let Freedom like a beacon
  Upon a headland sheer,
Flame high amid the darkness
  Of bigotry and fear.

Let no man here be stranger,
  No heart by hate undone;
Jew, Gentile, Christian, pagan,
  Negro and white, be one.
One fellowship of comrades
  In love revealing thee!—
So comes on earth thy kingdom,
  The world's community.

John Haynes Holmes.

The outstanding events of 1922 were conferences, held one after another in vain endeavor to stay the disintegration of Europe and remove the waxing menace of international war. Cannes, Genoa, the Hague, Lausanne, now Paris—how rapidly they came one after another, and how utterly futile they all were! With nothing or worse than nothing done, the state of Europe went steadily from bad to worse, until to-day, at the opening of 1923, the situation is so much worse than it was in January, 1922, or even could have been imagined at that time, that the mind simply refuses to recognize reality. Another year of similar drifting, and this western world will have definitely passed beyond all hope of recovery. In the present confusion, there are two facts which are conspicuous, the one discouraging and the other encouraging. On the one hand, the politicians—i.e., the so-called statesmen—of the world have shown an utter inability, in some cases an out-and-out disinclination, to face reality and thus handle effectively the elements involved in the present chaos. If we are to have in 1923 nothing but a repetition of the conferences held in 1922, then indeed is all ill with the world! On the other hand, peoples everywhere seem at last to be awakening to the fact that something has got to be done, and done *quickly,* if civilization is to be saved. Furthermore, there seems to be a growing feeling that what politicians have failed to do, can conceivably be done by bankers, economists, financiers—in other words, by persons altogether outside the circles of government. What is hopeful in this latter fact is the possibility that the sheer desperateness of the present situation, or rather the frightened consciousness of this desperateness, will at last drive men to take action that may accomplish something. It still remains true that when a thing *has* to be done, it *can* be done! It is to this acute and final crisis that we have now come, and in this lies the one great and sure hope of this new year. We anticipate that it is this year, 1923, that will decide whether our world is to survive or not.

1922 seems to have had something more than its usual quota of famous dead. James Bryce is an outstanding name; but with him passed other statesmen of distinguished rank, such as Viscount Harcourt, of England, Marquis Okuma, of Japan, Wu Ting-Fang, of China, and Walter Rathenau, foully assassinated to the incalculable loss not only of Germany but of Europe and the world at large. To these must be added Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins, whose deaths in August constitute one of those black tragedies which seem to be the destiny of Ireland. No literary men and women of outstanding genius died during the past twelve months, but such names as W. H. Hudson, John Kendrick Bangs, Thomas Nelson Page, Josephine Preston Peabody, and Katrina Trask are not to be lightly forgotten. Newspaper editors of great distinction, whatever we may think of their higher usefulness, were lost in Lord Northcliffe, of the London *Times,* and Charles R. Miller, of the New York *Times.* Religion, perhaps, suffered more in 1922 than any other field of life. Chief among the dead here is, of course, the late Pope, Benedict XV; with him may be named the great English Catholic, Father Bernard

Vaughan. Here in America we mourn William Austin Smith, heroic prophet and true saint, as also Lyman Abbott, of the *Outlook*. High among great names of all time stands that of Alexander Graham Bell, inventor of the telephone. The annals of exploration and adventure recorded an immortal in Sir Ernest Shackleton, dead "on the trail" before his fiftieth year. One of the greatest of orchestral conductors was lost to music in the death of Arthur Nikisch; and fine scholars disappeared in Sir Walter Raleigh, of England, and Ernest Lavisse, of France. Not inappropriate is the linking on the year's role of the names of Richard Croker and Boies Penrose.

Georg Brandes, in *The New Republic* (November 22, 1922, page 327), described the Treaty of Versailles as "undoubtedly the most stupid document of modern history." The demonstration of the perfect accuracy of this characterization is found in the remark of a Frenchman, Paul Abram, writer, doctor of medicine, and a soldier in the war, as quoted in *The Freeman* (November 29, page 267). Says M. Abram, "A treaty which obliges France to have 800,000 men under arms three years after the armistice, is a crime against the French nation." It will be noticed that, in this statement, nothing is said about Germany, or what the Versailles Treaty is doing to Germany and through Germany to the rest of Europe. M. Abram is speaking of France, the victor in arms, which should have received the reward of security and prosperity and happiness from the terms of peace which she herself imposed upon her fallen foe. But none of these things has come! On the contrary, in spite of all the incalculable sacrifices of her people, France is as badly off today as she was before the war. Nay, she is worse off, for, with an equal fear of Germany, she is less capable of maintaining the enormous armament which she regards as necessary to her safety. Could there be any stronger evidence of the stupidity of the Treaty? And yet Clemenceau came here to justify his work, and to persuade Americans to join hands with France in making a bad matter worse! Such an appeal is intolerable. France has it in her own hands to save herself, and all of Europe, if she but will. Let her abandon the cruel ways of repression and terror. Let her surrender the occupied territories, reduce the reparations to a reasonable figure, cease threats to seize the Ruhr valley and march to Berlin. Let her treat the Germans as human beings, confess with them a responsibility for the war, sustain the government of the republic as against the monarchists and the militarists, rewrite the Treaty in terms of reconciliation and reconstruction, in general substitute forgiveness for revenge, confidence for fear, and love for hate. The war will be won, when France, using the power which is hers as victor, establishes conditions which make it easily possible for her to disband her army of 800,000 men.

We are getting some pretty tall talk these days, from some of our American Fascisti, about what is going to happen if this, that or the other is not done to suit their whims. Imperial Wizard Evans, of the Ku Klux Klan, took pains to point out, on his recent visit to Washington, that his organization was gaining power every day and that the government might do well to give it heed. Even more direct, according to the newspaper reports, was the recent statement of Col. Alvin Owsley, National Commander of the American Legion. "If the reds threaten our democratic government," he said, "the American Legion will not hesitate to take things into their own hands, to fight the reds as the Fascisti of Italy fought them." "By taking over the government?" he was asked. "Exactly that," replied the valiant Colonel. For saying far less than this, men are languishing this day in prison, while Owsley is still at large. But let that pass, as inevitable in a country which knows little or nothing of equal justice between man and man! The significant thing is that we have here in America today, powerful organizations deliberately working outside the law, and, if necessary, in open defiance of the law. If we would understand these organizations, we must see them as the vile spawn of a government which, during the Great War and after, itself tore up the Constitution and defied the law, and deliberately encouraged its citizens to organize their mobs and do what they would to those who would not keep step with the majority. The old law of sowing and reaping, in other words, has been again at work. In 1917-19, we diligently sowed the dragons' teeth of anarchy in high places, and these have now sprung up in the harvest of American Legions, Ku Klux Klans, anti-Prohibition groups, etc., which infest the nation like a pestilence. Lawlessness breeds lawlessness, as surely as violence breeds violence and hate breeds hate. Some day—perhaps!—we shall learn this law of life. In the meanwhile, let us not get too much excited over these monstrous offspring of our own loins.

On the same day there came to us the news of two notable, indeed stirring events in the world of industry. (1) Mrs. Beatrice Boeke, youngest daughter of the late Sir George Cadbury, Quaker, cocoa millionaire and founder of the Bourneville Model Village, where his plant is located, has made over to the Men's and Women's Councils of Bourneville the entire income during her lifetime from the 28,000 shares in her father's business which she inherited. These shares are worth nearly a million dollars. Mrs. Boeke can dispose only of the income, since the principal

belongs to her children after her death. In a letter to the workers, she thanks them

for the many privileges the unearned income resulting from your united work has enabled me to enjoy. . . . For many years my husband and I felt increasingly uncomfortable as we have thought about this condition of affairs. We, therefore, feel it a duty voluntarily to surrender the privilege we have enjoyed for such a long time.

(2) Henry A. Dix, of New York, founder and head of the business of Henry A. Dix & Sons Company, manufacturers of uniforms, has turned over his concern in actual ownership to his four hundred employes. Mr. Dix and his sons withdraw entirely from all financial control of the business, and all of the profits from now on go to the workers. This action comes after years of happy relationship, during which working days have been shortened, the five-day week established, and profit-sharing system inaugurated, and so on.

"Even so," says a statement issued by one of the sons, "our personal profits continued to grow, and my father decided that, instead of accumulating more, . . . we should turn the whole thing over to those who have contributed in our success."

These events are remarkable as instances of personal generosity. They are important as recognitions of a certain principle which, when accepted everywhere, will turn our industrial world upside down.

Here is sensational news! The scientists of America believe in evolution!! In a formal statement issued on December 26th last, the Council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, denied that the theory of evolution is "a mere guess," and asserted on the contrary that it was thoroughly established and that there were no doubters among scientists of note. It seems amazing that such a body of men should actually find it necessary to make such a statement as this, and that newspapers should actually publish it upon the first page of their editions. What are we to have next?—a solemn pronouncement that the earth is round, or resolutions that Newton's law of gravitation is accepted by men of learning? Sarcasm is easy under such circumstances, but it would be a grevious error if we failed to recognize the nature of the situation which confronts us, and the reason why scientists should take the time and trouble to reaffirm what everybody who knows anything, knows to be true. We are in the midst to-day of a tidal wave of reaction against knowledge and enlightenment of every kind. Persons of influence are making a determined assault upon the doctrine of evolution, and are actually quoting great names, like that of William Bateson, as authority for the statement that scientists are losing faith in the doctrine, or denying its truth altogether. Some of these persons are undoubtedly ignorant—not knowing that Darwinism and evolution are not one and the same thing, they accept doubts as to the adequacy of Darwinism as a factor of evolution, as so many denials of the theory itself. Others of these persons are of course simply wicked; they deliberately misquote for the sake of misleading and deceiving. In either case, it was high time that an authoritative word should be spoken. And here it is! We are indebted to Drs. Conklin, Osborn and Davenport for this great service rendered on behalf of their more than 11,000 distinguished colleagues to the cause of truth.

Speaking of scientists, UNITY would not let pass the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Louis Pasteur without offering its humble salutation to his glorious memory. Next to Darwin, the great Frenchman wrought more wonderfully for humanity than any other scientist of modern times; and, in equal rivalry with Darwin, he was a man of utter humility, gentleness and purity of heart. Trained as a chemist, Pasteur's attention was early called to the problem of fermentation and putrefaction. These had always been regarded, on the basis of the doctrine of spontaneous generation, as strictly chemical phenomena. By a series of simple and beautiful experiments, however, Pasteur demonstrated that spontaneous generation was a myth, and that putrefaction, therefore, was a biological and not a chemical phenomenon. It originated, in other words, not from within spontaneously, but from without by a process of contagion from the bacteria which filled the air. It was Pasteur's sublime achievement to discover these bacteria, and thus revolutionize the whole theory of disease and all the practices of medical treatment. More immediate and dramatic was the inauguration of modern surgery, made possible by the application of his discoveries in the now universally adopted methods of sterilization. Best known among the general public, perhaps, was his invention of vaccination as a preventive against rabies, which was recognized by the foundation of the Pasteur Institute, which to-day represents the highest spirit of scientific research. It may well be noted, at this particular moment in human history, that all of Pasteur's vast labors were dedicated to the alleviation of human misery, and to the protection and service of human life. Pasteur was an intensely patriotic Frenchman. When the war of 1870 engulfed his country, he returned to Germany all of the honors which the universities and scientific societies of that nation had conferred upon him. But it is impossible to conceive of his using his vast knowledge and talents for the invention of processes for destroying human beings.

Verbal Brickbats

The tendency toward physical violence leads to beating of children, knocking down of offending neighbors, assault and battery in case of annoyance by strangers and finally to war, the sum of all evils. The tendency toward mental violence leads to harsh words in the family, coarse and hurting condemnation in the school, over-bearing domination of one class over another in industry and calling opprobrious names whenever the foreigner is mentioned, or one who is "different" in any particular is discussed. The reformer is liable to both these tendencies of behavior. The Ku Klux Klan and the excited "100 per cent American" show the ability to throw verbal brickbats; and also, in case of what seems to them need, to secure uniformity in belief or in action by tar and feather treatment or even by more murderous methods.

Reformers who would not use personal violence of the bodily sort, nay, even those most positive in non-resistant principles as respects war, are often sadly given to the employment of cutting, biting, wounding words. They not seldom bear false witness against the neighbor who differs from them because unable to see that two people may seek the right road yet move toward it from opposite positions and seem to be wholly at variance one with another when what they both try to reach is one goal. The besetting sin of the reformer is self-righteousness. He is so sure that "one with God is a majority" and he is that one, that he often brooks no divergence from his conception of what should be done to make this old world better. Emerson said in his day "This is a time of multitudinous reforms. Every third man you meet carries in his waist-coat pocket the ground plan of the new Jerusalem." Of course these various plans were not identical. And there is abundant evidence that the author of each plan was sure that his was the only right one, and often quite as certain that all others were not only defective but either stupidly or purposely wrong.

We are now in another era of multitudinous reforms. We are now passing through another special and intentional attempt to make over the world. Beside the morning dreams of the transcendental period in which Emerson wrote and the Brook Farm people experimented and the Free Religious leaders built in the mind their universal Temple, ours is a midday struggle of terrific labor to actually mend the whole world. Not merely to enable a few elect to live as becomes saints and sages but to shove forward the whole struggling, selfish, ignorant mass of human kind toward a great awakening and a great achievement. This is our task. And beside it the early morning vision of the New England Renaissance is as the sunrise glow before the torrid day.

Now we are faced with exactly the same intolerance of difference of method that was shown in the anti-slavery conflict, for example; shown also to some extent in the early stages of the woman-suffrage cause. I was present when Mrs. Abby Kelly Foster, shaking her long black-gloved forefinger at Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who was presiding at a pioneer suffrage meeting declared "Thou, Mr. Chairman, art my enslaver." This was her way of saying that she did not approve of any one taking office as he had done in the Massachusetts Legislature, but felt that her way and that of her husband, Stephen Foster, of repudiating the government and making it necessary for the taxgatherers to take away their property rather than recognize the demand for taxation by paying the sum assessed, was the better one. To show utter resentment against the law which disfranchised women and had supported slavery as legal seemed to her alone the proper attitude of a real reformer. Yet events showed that there was some value to the cause in getting inside the legislatures those who would vote for justice to women. The way in which William Lloyd Garrison and those most closely associated with him read out of the abolition movement all who could not subscribe his slogan "Immediate and unconditional emancipation," showed intense conviction and may have been an essential part of the line-up of the abolition forces. Yet had there been a moderate party strong enough to insist successfully upon gradual emancipation, under a law requiring compensation to owners for that which had been legally acquired as "property," and securing a generation of education for blacks and whites alike, in the Southern as in the Northern States, it might have been possible to free the slaves and avoid the Civil War whose baleful effects even now make the black man's lot so hard. So long as there was a ghost of a chance for such avoidance of war by the use of the English plan of emancipation, it was of doubtful wisdom to shut out of the abolition party those that favored that plan. The elevation of a method above, or beside, a principle is always a dangerous and dogmatic action. It always leads to harsh words that tend toward war itself.

Today it is the peace question that is ranking the sheep and the goats in moral conflict. And today there are those eager to read out of the peace party all who favor measures of which they themselves do not approve. Jane Addams, Alice Thacher Post, Lucia Ames Mead and many another tried peace worker, among them the present writer, believe and say that to them the best way all things considered is for the United States to go into the League of Nations, even with all its "entangling alliances" with a "bad peace" and with all its faults and immaturities. They believe that it is better to take a position inside the feeble be-

ginnings of a world organization and try to make it grow, and through it try to make a better sort of Peace Treaty all around the circle of struggling nations than to stay outside and call it names or seek to prove its follies or its incompleteness.

There are, however, others, sincere, ardent and courageous, who declare of the League of Nations Covenant as Garrison did of the Constitution of the United States: "It is a covenant with death and an agreement with hell. Away with it." There are others who view its struggles as signs of death, not an effort to live and function. These are and should be respected. They are temperamentally of intense mental contrasts. Whatever their theology they are of Calvinistic fibre. Things, and people themselves, are either good or bad to their ideas. It often fails to occur to people of this temperament that they are not infallible and that there is a possibility that they may be mistaken not only in their estimate of people but in their outlook upon social movements. There is a certain intellectual violence of temper in the dogmatic assumption that one can be so wholly right that all who differ must be wholly wrong. It is not possible, so some wise people have thought, to be so really sure that we and our special crowd are alone in possession of the truth as to justify either ridicule or wholesale condemnation of those who differ from us.

There is one and one only *principle* in the peace cause. It is this: We believe in and work for, as a supreme good to the human race, the substitution of law for war in international relations. Each one of us adds, if in earnest, some allegiance to a favored method of reaching the realization of that principle.

We may feel deeply, and of right should do so, that the method we have chosen, in the circumstances as we see them, is the best one. But any student of history knows that "Good moves in a mysterious way its wonders to perform" in the conquest of evil. Any humble truth-seeker knows that the way that seems most logical is often the way most surely prevented and that many devious paths may lead at last to some great highway of advance. There is room for every eager advocate of any method of bringing peace to a war-worn world. There is not yet so sure an outline of the way of life in this field of moral effort that any one who loves peace can afford to throw verbal brickbats at any other who professes to love peace, because he believes, or does not believe, in any one way of working for it. Today there is a stirring of the people. It is showing itself in resolutions in Congress and in organization of new peace societies and in a confusing variety of efforts to "Outlaw War." This does not mean that one or another such effort is a pretence or even that it is a mistake. It simply shows that the impulse of the human mind, the common human mind, toward abolishing war has outrun the intellectual power of deciding how it can be done. This is as it should be. Only by engendering a deep and widespread determination to end war can moral force be developed to find the way. And, as in all other concerns of human progress, when the movement to some better way of life is in its youth we have a new impulse showing itself in countless plans for the new Jerusalem. They are all precious, for they show that at last not to saints and sages alone has the vision come of a warless world, but the man on the street and the woman in her home have seen a great light. Let us who have long pondered this great need of our race and long worked for it lose no strength in violent denunciation of those who did not see it yesterday and yet perchance feel they are showing the way to better living today. Let us not in this world-crisis, the most awful that the children of men have ever consciously faced, mistake the spirit of peace and think it has to do only with physical acts. It has equally to do with the temper of mind and the quality of human sympathy. Let us strive for the unity of the spirit which is the only lasting bond of peace and make our words fit our yearning for good will among all the children of men!

ANNA GARLIN SPENCER.

THE FOOL.

The village fool, he wanders by
Talking to something in the sky;
And all his large white face, seems lit
With the reflected light of it.

The village fool—he brings to me
The thought of Joan of Domremy—
Wandering with rapt and shining face
The byways of her native place—
Hearing what sane folk could not hear;
Seeing, with vision foolish-clear
The dreams, that led her by the hand
To Rouen, and its kindling brand.

And then I wonder if, someday—
This village fool will stride away—
With eyes alight and lips unfurled—
To carry Truth across the world!

—From *The Quaker Magazine.*

Emil G. Hirsch

Charged with the great duty to interpret to you and to myself the deeper meaning of this hour, I know no better phrase to guide me than the following, which tradition has placed on the lips of Moses when, shortly before his rise to eternal glory he had taken occasion for the last time to instruct and admonish his people. Said he to them:

Welo Ithem LebhadKhem Anokhi Koreth Eth Habrith Hazoth.

"Not with you alone am I making this covenant and this binding pact. Both with them who are with us here today before the Lord our God, and with them who are not with us here today, the covenant is made."—(*Deut.* xxix, 13, 14.)

Twelve years ago last March the present home of Sinai Congregation, at Forty-sixth Street and Grand Boulevard in Chicago, was dedicated with these opening words of its renowned religious leader. This week, after forty-two consecutive years of service he visited, for the last time, the beautiful House of God which his followers had built for him. He could not hear the silenced tramp of feet as they thronged by the bier in which he lay; he could not catch the tones of the organ nor the notes of the choir; he could not smile as in life-time he was wont to do when friends gathered about him; nor could he give assent to the modest and beautiful words of farewell which were spoken by the officiating Rabbi, his own beloved son-in-law. Yet the thousands who were present to bid him adieu knew well that his voice was speaking again in the words of Moses of old:

Not with you alone am I making this covenant and this binding pact. Both with them who are with us here today before the Lord our God, and with them who are not with us here today, the covenant is made.

American Jewry, from end to end of the country, bears the impress of the leadership of Dr. Hirsch. There is no instrument with which to measure the actual extent of his influence; yet wherever a group of modern Jews may gather for religious or philanthropic communion, there are his opinions echoed in greater or less degree. The covenant which he made with his God and his people, although it may lose identification with its maker, will guide the policy of American Reform Judaism for all time. Although for four decades he worked in one field, his mighty influence molded and fashioned Jewish thought from coast to coast.

Nature conspired in favor of this mighty man of genius. She gave him at the very outset advantage which sent him forward at a rapid pace. This was his own father. Samuel Hirsch had been a profound scholar and thinker. By profession a rabbi, he had early loosed himself from the traditional thinking and beliefs of his professional associates. In 1841 he had been obliged to resign from the pulpit he then occupied because of his advanced views. Several years later the king of Holland appointed him chief Rabbi of the grand duchy of Luxemburg where he remained until he came to this country in 1866, to accept the pulpit of a Jewish congregation in Philadelphia. From this platform he became an open advocate of radical Reform. He wrote several books along profoundly constructive and original lines. In these "he considered the Biblical legends to be psychological and typical allegories, and the ceremonies of Judaism to be symbols of underlying ideas."

The mighty brain power and the fighting power of Samuel Hirsch Nature repeated in the son. This debt of gratitude the son never overlooked. Times without number he quoted from the pulpit and in his own writings the utterances of his illustrious father. His education, shaped and directed by such an intelligent hand, was excellent in its scope. It began in the public schools of his native town, was continued in a private school in Philadelphia. From the University of Pennsylvania he was graduated in 1872. There followed four years of study in the Universities of Germany. Upon his return to this country he took up the burden of the ministry but he never laid down that of the student. Under the guidance of his father and his professors he had learned to apply himself intensively to study, a habit which followed him throughout life.

And here again Nature was kind to him. Among his teachers were two other men of whom he always spoke with a reverence approaching that which he bestowed upon his own father; Abraham Geiger and David Einhorn (whose daughter he married) contributed to the molding of his master mind. Both men defied fate and time in their ardent support of freedom in religious thinking. It must be remembered that until the early years of the nineteenth century Judaism was practiced according to the letter and the law of the Old Testament and subsequent Jewish literature. The canons of the Decalogue were accepted as truthful and binding. Prayer, ritual, ceremony, custom were not to be interfered with at the risk of committing heresy and being outlawed from the Jewish community in consequence. From such rigid tradition as this Geiger, Einhorn and Samuel Hirsch were among the first to dissent. Upon principles promulgated by them the first Reformed Jewish movement was built. And Emil G. Hirsch, possessed of all the intellectual ability, the mental courage of his father and his teachers was ready to take up the cudgel in its behalf. To it he brought his own scholarly contributions, plowing ever deeper and deeper into the field of Biblical, philological, and kindred research.

At which point the third generous gift of Nature (or Fate if you prefer) was handed to him. For one year only he was Rabbi in Baltimore, Maryland; two years were spent in Louisville, Ky.; then he was called to Sinai Congregation in Chicago, which, in spite of numerous and flattering offers from other cities, he served until the final call which has just come. Time and again he said that to this Sinai Congregation he owed what there was of value in his career; since here he ministered to a group of men and women who from the very beginning of his work were sympathetic with his viewpoint of religion; men and women willing to listen to his ideas and ideals; to encourage him to continue his studies and research; to provide him with the physical comforts which removed him from the necessity of worry over financial affairs. For in no sense of the word had Dr. Hirsch ever been the typical "pastor." This no man can be who gives himself to serious and intensive and lengthy hours of study: with which this active brain and body always coupled intensive civic duty as well. One of his most frequently spoken debts of gratitude to his congregationalists was just this circumstance, namely, that because they did not expect of him the attentions which a pastor must bestow upon his flock they gave him time for serious

and uninterrupted application to the bigger things of life. There have been those among his membership who have wished for closer personal acquaintanceship with him; but such were few; the greater number have recognized that in their renunciation of his personal attention they left him free to serve all the better his congregation as a whole, and his city and state; for this freedom from pastoral cares, granted to him in the beginning and never revoked, provided the time which gave him opportunity by his messages from the pulpit and platform to inspire thousands where otherwise only the few would have been reached. The young Rabbi of today is not so fortunate. The average congregation is no longer a collection of learned men; appreciation of scholarly attainments is no longer the dominating quality. But fortunately for the history of Jewish life in Chicago it was the strongest trait of our forebears.

A mere handful remains of the young men who in 1858 formed in Chicago the *Juedische Reformverein.* This small group of intellectuals was ready to abandon the traditions which narrowed and cramped their well loved Judaism. They were ready to free themselves from the blind burden of ceremonies and to substitute therefor the teachings of Israel's great prophets. The principles of humanity, the love for fellow-man, altruism, justice and righteousness they could practice minus the symbols which until now had hampered their religious worship. Thinkers and readers they were. All they needed was inspired leadership. This came to them through Dr. Bernard Felsenthal, Sinai's first Rabbi, later through Dr. Kaufman Kohler (brother-in-law of Dr. Hirsch) and succeeding him, through Dr. Hirsch himself.

How often friends have heard Dr. Hirsch say that in his early years as minister here he had to look well to his laurels since every man in his audience was scholarly. Obviously they demanded much from their new leader; nor did he fail them. In every way could he meet the test they put him to. Years later one of these pioneers was listening to the Biblical text of the week being read by a much younger man; sadly he commented upon the difference in the ability of the younger generation to read from the Torah as compared with that of his own minister. According to the custom of the Jewish service a prescribed portion of the Pentateuch is read each Sabbath morning. In every synagogue one will hear this "lesson" of the week, first in Hebrew and then in English. Obviously since Hebrew is exceedingly difficult to follow even by the learned, the majority will read it from the original Hebrew text and then turn to an English version to read the translation. I have never known Dr. Hirsch to do this. His acquaintanceship with the original was so intimate that he could read from his Hebrew Bible into the English language with all the skill and ease one possesses who reads in his native tongue.

For he was a profound linguist. Sometimes he would say that the only reason he spoke only eight or ten languages was because there were no more civilized languages than that which one could speak. He read in many more. Which fact accounts in some measure for the immense amount of information he carried concerning so many scattered subjects. He could discourse concerning medicine, music, art, science, to an uncanny degree. Obviously in the field of literature he could cover the range of human production. Because of the tremendous extent of his readings his sermons were always filled with illustrations drawn from every department of human experience.

And yet they were always straightforward sermons. Perhaps it was his intensive Rabbinical training, received so largely at the hands of his philosopher father, which held him strictly to religious sermons. Honest homiletics were these discourses throughout all the years of his preaching. Rarely, if ever, did he deviate from his idea that a sermon was a sermon, and not a lecture. No amount of pressure could bring him to discourse upon the latest novel or psychological or scientific fad. While all these foibles came under his notice and received due mention in one way or another, they never served as a text nor ever were made the burden of his talks. Straightforward ethical sermons were his goal. It is a difficult one and only to be reached by the minister who never ceases to read and ponder and study. For this reason they lay within his power and for this reason he could hold an audience in the same church even for so long a period as forty-two years. By constant application to the pursuit of further knowledge he was constantly discovering for himself, and therefore for his hearers, new values in the literature of the ages, from ancient to modern. One of his ideas was to "spread information on the eternally modern problems underlying all religions."

In the dedicatory sermon already referred to one finds many of these eternal problems mentioned. First and foremost is the idea that we have not outworn religion or its need.

> For if one trait is more signally visible in the physiognomy, intellectual, moral and spiritual, of our day, it is this: in ever deepening emphasis and in ever widening scope the consciousness has pushed to articulated protests, that among all the forces that make for answer to the nobler needs of humanity, religion is the one force that can least be spared, the one force that, if allowed to lie dormant, cannot be replaced by another.

In spite of the great advances which science has made, or perhaps because of them,

> human nature is asserting its right to dream dreams. It is crying out for a unifying explanation of life and world which shall not overlook the facts of human need and human experience, the facts brought to the surface from the mine of the soul which are as authentic as are those established by chemical reactions and that too when the quest for them is controlled and tested by the rigid methods indispensable in scientific investigations.

But with cults that were neither scientific nor deeply religious this prophet was intolerant. He granted no quarter to providers of opiates for bodily ills even as he would not tolerate such as would bargain with deity. Sacrifices offered to God were no easy road to returns in the form of health or prosperity; fasting would not forgive sin. Even the greatest of all great holy days of the Jew, the Day of Atonement, when the piously inclined would seek absolution from sin by abstaining from food and drink for twenty-four hours, met at his hands only an historical interpretation; and while he celebrated it by the reading of the reform ritual, by sermonic lesson, he long since discontinued the custom of fasting for himself and for such as followed his religious teaching. Suffering he never regarded as punishment, save when it came as the result of one's own wrong-doing. Often has he quoted a saying of the old Rabbis that one shall not call upon God to rescue him from a danger to which one has wittingly exposed himself. Nor can one close his eyes to suffering by merely saying that it does not

exist; too often its surmounting but proves the strength and value of a man. On this account he deeply lamented the loss from Judaism of such as found easy way in Christian Science. Did they but know their Judaism as the liberal movement teaches it, none would need to flee its portals for the gentler opiate.

And how beautifully he unfolded this liberal Judaism only they who have sat at his feet through the years will ever fully appreciate. These last decades have not been easy ones for the Jewish people anywhere on the globe, not even here in this blessed land of freedom. The Jew has needed courage with which to face his foes—still needs it. He is not understood; although he differs in tradition, in homeland, in cultural background, in religious understanding, more widely than Catholic differs from Unitarian, in the eyes of the non-Jewish world he is merely put down as "the Jew." And thus it happens that the sins of one of this people is charged against them all; that the shortcomings of the most worthless are pronounced the shortcomings of all. Even though the founder of the Christian faith grew out of Jewish loins Christianity has rarely given fair quarter to anything Jewish. Even as the Christian Master was the vicarious sufferer for his followers so have the descendants of his ancestors been his vicarious sufferers. And life has been tolerable to them under this handicap only when they have known the truth about their own religion and the religion founded in the Savior's name.

Here lay Dr. Hirsch's greatest strength. Because he knew the origin and development of his own religion and that of the Christian equally well, because he read them both with the same impartial understanding, he could inspire confidence in his followers; he could show them the manifold good in their Judaism, the thousand ways in which the Christian dogma and literature had borrowed from the older Testament, the historical fallacies which have given rise to so much bitter misunderstanding between the sects; "not one doctrine imputed to Jesus but has its source and counterpart in the teachings of Jewish masters, his predecessors and co-evals. Only when we remember the conceptions and the phraseology of the synagog of Palestine during the years credited as the frame of his activities are we enabled to understand many of his utterances." And it is the Jew who has had need to remember these utterances; since it is the Jew who has been the victim of bigotry and intolerance.

But the method in which he has been asked to remember Jesus' words, as interpreted by Dr. Hirsch, has been a patient one. Because his people are misunderstood he ever from the pulpit called upon them to show the world how great the Jew can be. He appealed to his followers times without number for strict observance of the ethics of the prophets, greater than which none exist. He demanded from his congregants intelligent understanding of their own history and the histories of their neighbors that they might realize how closely akin all men are. And therefore he demanded a vital and a sincere worship, and a living religion in his own House of God. For this reason he abandoned the Sabbath as a holy day.

This Temple will not sanctify what privately and individually and personally its members find impossible to observe as religiously set apart. Our Sunday service is not a substitute for a Sabbath service which held seat of honor in the homes and hearts of the congregation. Because we are and would be workers in the world of which we are a part and from which we would not hold ourselves apart, we neglected to assemble on the day on which under other circumstances and under other understanding of religion's essential content other Jews used to come together for prayer and edification. To name in prayer that day a day of rest while without exception all of the adult members are at work is framing a lie. We have consecrated as far as we were able to do this for our religious edification and instruction the day which is our day of rest whatever its origin or the theological construction read into it. We have not presumed to abrogate any day that was holy. We have for our needs honestly striven to create a new day and give it a message of vital scope for us and the world around us.

Needless to say, this abandoning of the old historical Sabbath brought criticism upon the head of Sinai's leader from many Jewish quarters. He withstood the stress of this with his customary strength. The newer idea of a day of rest which was the commonly accepted day of rest, one upon which his people could sit before him to be instructed in religious living, was his vision of a truth; therefore he stood by it, fiercely, though not always patiently. In faith this orator of the silver tongue, from whose lips words would flow in rhythm and beauty akin to music, could strike mercilessly against foes of what he knew as the right, even as he could cajole lovingly those who stood in need of his encouragement.

In religious principles, as in every way, did he keep well abreast of the times. And thus could his disciples follow him; for he trod the paths of knowledge, of progress, of humanity. And in this latter way he again set an example to all within range of his voice or his influence. And here again he strengthened the hearts and upheld the hands of his people. By his own magnificent example he pointed the way in which to ward off prejudice; for he maintained that so long as a Jew gave to the world the best there was within him to give, and gave that best in the spirit of Judaism, naught but respect could be meted out to him. How truthfully this inspiration served his followers such Jews as have mingled in the civic and philanthropic activities of their cities and states well know. His disciples went forth well armed in the knowledge of the worth of their own religion, clearly understanding the exactions that religion makes upon its true followers; and therefore able to give to mankind, true and unselfish and devoted service.

"Against social exploitation in any and all form, against predatory freebooting instinct and insolence, Prophetic Judaism sounds the alarm. Our prophets were socialists rather than theologians. They were concerned with teaching a new conception of man and not with proclaiming a new theory concerning God. Their redeeming thought new in the age and the people into which they thundered its fiery vocabulary held men to be the stewards, not the proprietors of their time, talent, treasure. For others man held in trust what God had given him. Their anxiety was about personality, never about property. Hence their passion for righteousness, their thirst for justice."

That quality which will set Dr. Hirsch apart from the average in the recollection of the non-Jewish world will be this burning passion for righteousness and thirst for justice which ever was his. In all his long and varied career as a citizen of this city and state and country his tongue was always aflame in the fight for right. How many causes he has championed with his personal strength and ability only the close historian will be able to recall. Throughout the years

when his virility and energy were at their full no civic or philanthropic movement of worth was organized without his support or endorsement. Time after time he ascended the platform, in public utterance to justify a cause which met with his sympathy. Nor did it matter whether high or low, rich or poor summoned him. So long as the fight was for a principle of right or justice, he could be depended upon to raise his voice in its defense. One of the noblest yet one of the most trying and laborious civic duties he ever undertook was that of membership on the State Board of Charities. Burdened with responsibility far beyond that which the average man can carry, devoted to his calling, unneglectful of his studies, he yet found time to visit the charitable institutions throughout the state, to devise ways and means of improvement among their inmates, to become acquainted with their keepers and the methods these wardens of the unfortunate employed. Making a study of the care of the dependent and the delinquent, as he did of any subject which he touched, he was able to introduce into Illinois methods which at that time were a distinct gain over those previously employed.

In the field of Jewish philanthropy he was supreme. Small wonder, since he who knows his Jewish law is cognizant of the fact that the conscientious Jew is charged with the care of his unfortunate brethren. But merely to dole out bread and meat to the poor, merely to clothe the body, is not a genuine Jew's conception of philanthropy. In faith, in the Jewish religion, in the ancient language of the Jew, there is no such word as charity or philanthropy. The word which one finds there is "justice." And therefore this great teacher led his people to understand that justice is due the unfortunate. Largely under his tutelage and guidance, then, there developed in Chicago a series of organizations for caring for the various needs of the unfortunate and handicapped which were pioneer efforts in the field of organized philanthropies. And through his genius, too, these various bodies were later brought together into what was known as the Associated Jewish Charities of Chicago, a union which has served as a model for Jew and Christian everywhere.

One pauses thoughtfully over some of the reforms effected by this genius. Until his attention was turned to them, orphans among the Jewish people were sent to the regulation orphan asylum. At his suggestion and with the co-operation of Mr. Julius Rosenwald, ever his faithful and earnest friend and co-worker, a "Home-Finding Society" was organized through the ministration of which children deprived of parents are placed in responsible homes where they can be raised under normal care, with a foster mother's tenderness and solicitude. It is fair to assume that the love he bore all children led Dr. Hirsch to devise this better method of caring for the unfortunate among them. They who have known his work in the religious school which he conducted, who have seen him in the midst of his own children and more latterly his grandchildren, have been touched by his tender solicitude for the young. One episode stands forth, now indelibly marked on the memory of those who witnessed it; last October the children of his religious school were brought into the Temple on the Sunday morning of the *Sukkoth* (Thanksgiving) holiday, to participate in the religious service. The storm cloud which has now broken was already then shadowing his career; yet with head as erect as he could then carry it, and hand as high as he could wave it, he marked time to the organ for the singing of these youngest protegees of his—because he loved both them and the music they invoked.

Partly due to his own careful educational training, partly because of his interest in youth he was deeply concerned with modern educational ideas and the manner in which he felt they fall short of perfection. To the end of demonstrating his well thought-out plans of educating the modern boy and girl to be a creator rather than a follower, to be a thinker rather than an automaton, some years ago he persuaded the Jewish community to organize a school of its own. At that time all we had in Chicago was the discipline of the stationary seat and the three R's. In his school, the Jewish Manual Training School, hands and heads were given opportunity to work simultaneously. Our public school system is today an improved reflection of the courses of study which this Jewish school inaugurated; and Dr. Hirsch will always be remembered as a forerunner in the work. Now that the Jewish Training School has outlived its usefulness and closed its doors, let us hope that they who have the means will also have the will to take another step forward in education, and in the memory of this great pioneer undertake some new piece of experimental work. But let them remember that the Jewish Training School, to the very last, stood in the heart of the congested district; that through its doors passed children from the poorest of homes; that because of this social handicap Dr. Hirsch meant they should enjoy superior educational advantages. For this, too, was part of his scheme for social justice. Moreover, I think that he had greater faith in the children of the poor and the middle class than in those begotten of the rich. Whereas he had so well taught the Jewish community of this city to contribute liberally to all the philanthropic causes which he sponsored, whether for Jew or Christian or both, nevertheless he carried the fear that the younger scions of wealth would make a shibboleth of their charities; in season and out he reminded them that the greatest amount of material giving could never absolve them from religious duties; dispensing charity could under no circumstances buy a man the soul comfort that adherence to the religion of his fathers would bring. Without religious inspiration philanthropy is cold and barren, and anyone who has worked much among the unfortunate knows only too well the truth of his viewpoint.

Here as in so many places he was brother in the spirit to that revered friend of his, Jenkin Lloyd Jones. In religious faith nothing separated them but technical labels. In purpose and intent they were a unit. When one reaches the prime of life and knows that at best he walks the descending scale of years one is apt to view often in retrospect the outstanding associates of a life-time. Fortunate is he who in such a moment of reflection can summon from the past shadows and influences of good and great souls. Rich beyond measure, therefore, is my inheritance; life's lessons were learned at the feet of both these great men. Further than that, it was my rare privilege to be a medium for the exchange of ideas and thoughts between them. How often has Mr. Jones said to me, "What does Dr. Hirsch think of our scheme?" And in turn the latter would ask, "Have you spoken to Jenkin Lloyd Jones about it?" Thus through the

interplay of this friendship my life was blessed with one of its greatest gifts. Especially vivid in recollection stand forth those trying years when the souls of both men were being tortured almost beyond human endurance. In the ultimate writing of the history of their time when the impartial pen is set to work both leaders will be numbered among the true patriots. But this will be small compensation for the tortures which a callous and ununderstanding public administered.

The ultimate test of Dr. Hirsch's ardent devotion to the land of his adoption is found in his opposition to Zionism. Although he was sympathetic in the extreme with his coreligionists in Europe who were suffering hardship at the hands of cruel leaders he did not see that opening Palestine to them all was possible. He was willing to aid in any movement which would free them from the oppression they endured and to this end was willing to encourage the rebuilding of Palestine so far as it could be made a haven of rest for some of the down-trodden. But with the idea that Palestine was once again to become a "home-land" for the Jews he had no patience. He feared anything which would lead anyone to doubt his unbounded admiration for America.

"Let them that would be Palestinians go to Palestine, and make it their home. You and I will not be silent when our Americanism is put in jeopardy. I rejoice in being a citizen of this republic. I have a nation of which I am as true a son as ever is he of Mayflower ancestry. Our Judaism and our Americanism are not discordant and mutually exclusive elements. Loyalty to one does not spell faithlessness to the other. To the contrary, as I have often enough endeavored to demonstrate, the fundamental principles of prophetic Judaism are also the pillars upon which American civilization and American democracy are trestled."

And to this he would facetiously add, "When the kingdom of the Jews is re-established in Palestine I shall ask to be made minister plenipotentiary to the United States."

Minister plenipotentiary he was, of the Jewish community to the community at large. And never has an American group been better represented. He spoke of himself as the representative of the "chosen people" but chosen, not according to Biblical orthodox interpretation. In his scheme of the universe the Jews were "chosen" to be promulgators of the higher principles of right as advocated by their original prophets; "chosen" to live these principles in the face of suffering and privation and denial thereby to elevate their own selves; "chosen" to be the social barometers of history since in each country the measure of social justice may be estimated by the land's treatment of its Jewish subjects; "chosen" to walk upright in those lands where equal opportunity exists for all that he might show the world the measure of a man's true greatness and likeness to his creator; "chosen" to dispense happiness in the present and hope in the future here on earth. For in his scheme of the universe, in his interpretation of true Judaism, man looks forward to his reward in the life that is for him, and the life that is to come to his descendants. We make our own heaven and our own hell; we lay the foundation of the future which our children must inhabit; strive shall we, therefore, ever upward and onward toward material perfection for the ideal day is yet to come. For this reason shall we learn to place above the things of the flesh those attributes which strengthen the mind and the soul. Possibly the perfect time will come when all men can worship in one house, before one God; he who then lives may discard all religious labels; but until it comes the Jew must labor as a Jew that he may use his birthright, the ethical principles of his faith, in making himself understood.

No account of the life of this great man, however brief or hurried, can close without mention of his contribution to the intellectual growth of this western city. In addition to the stimulus which his own ministry furnished in rich measure there stands to his credit a long period of service as member and President of the Board of the Public Library. For eleven years he guided the policy of that institution. Under his regime it grew in influence and equipment. The beautiful building it now occupies was built during his term of office. And from this service to the general reading public he moved to one higher and more technical, that of Professor of Rabbinical Literature and Philosophy in the University of Chicago. One of his rarest friends, one who understood him well, was President Harper whose untimely death he mourned most deeply and with whose passing teaching at the University lost its zest. Yet through all the passing years, even unto the present, he has held forth the hand of encouragement to the young. Many are they in the present generation of Rabbis whom he helped over places of doubt.

It is greatly to be lamented that so little of the genius, intellect and experience of this rare soul was committed to written form. So lavishly did he give of his time to study and to service that hours were never used for writing. Posterity must therefore depend upon the invisible influence which he exerted throughout Jewry, throughout America. And there is no man to take his place! Like a giant he walked on the mountain tops of thought and experience. We dare not mourn his going, for this he would not tolerate. Rather shall we buckle on the armor of battle and with our united strength carry it forward as he carried it alone. Back to the Maker whose purpose he understood so well, he has journeyed. Behind him remain scores of devoted friends and followers who today breathe thanksgiving for the rich possessions which he bestowed upon them.

JENNIE FRANKLIN PURVIN.

Draw in the latchstring, lad, and close the door;
Lest they who wait without, in toil and pain
Should rob thee of thine own too-meagre store;
Can one poor crust avail those famished forms?
Can one poor shelter shield them from the storms?
And surely they who wait and hope in vain
Will turn and rend thee—when thou hast no more!
So—Draw the latchstring in, and close the door.

There was a man, would throw it open wide—
But he was crucified!

The Century. —*L. Mitchell.*

The Joy of Life

XXII.

Perhaps there is no single phase of our civilization in which greater development is being made than in that of education. The parent has much to learn from his son when that little chap comes running home for lunch all excited over the Mississippi delta, because its alluvial deposit has been explained by his teacher through the simple process of opening a hydrant, or eager to build a new Drake Hotel because that same teacher has taught him the implications of interest through the clever device of having him visit a downtown bank, under the pretense of getting money with which to construct his own imaginary house on the vacant lot across the alley. By such processes study becomes play, for the abstract text-book information is made vivid and concrete through connection with the boy's physical environs. No less revolutionary are some of the changes being introduced in college methods of teaching.

History used to be largely a study of military operations. To get good marks it was only necessary to memorize statistics pertaining to the dates of the various battles, the number of participants on each side, the number of casualties, the number of pounds of ammunition employed, the names of all the leading generals with a brief sketch of their lives—special emphasis being placed on the dates which marked their entry to and their exit from their bloody theatre of action. Today all this has been changed. In a recent course on the early history of the United States given at the University of Chicago, the military operations of the American Revolution were dismissed in two or three short sentences. No attention was paid to the battles fought, their geographical locations or the numbers killed. Even the great George Washington was dispensed with by the single remark that he was an efficient officer. Two weeks or more were devoted to the Revolution, but that war was interpreted to the class in terms of causes and effects. The political, the economic, the social, the religious, and the geographic conditions pertaining both to America and England were carefully analyzed and studied. The war was considered as merely the result of the inadequate handling of these conditions. The student was not asked to study the war, but rather to study the underlying causes, and to form an unprejudiced opinion as to whether England or the colonies were principally at fault, and whether or not the catastrophe could have been averted.

In the teaching of geography in colleges we have another illustration of this enlarged method of treatment. Whole countries are no longer dealt with through the puerile process of "bounding" them, naming their chief cities and exports, and quoting their population. The study of geography to-day is a study of civilizations, and the effect of climatic and geographic conditions upon those civilizations. It interprets the world in terms of man's adaptation to the world. But note this interesting factor: This enlargement, this extending of the area covered by the various branches of education is resulting in a very noticeable overlapping. Geography now infringes on economics, history, sociology; and history on geography, economics, sociology, philosophy, literature, art and science. When you begin to interpret all knowledge in terms of human values, and those values in terms of the cosmic processes you have a bond of unity which makes the present scholastic divisions of education into departments, seem superficial and naive. The more courses one pursues the more forcefully is it impressed upon him that after all efforts at classification have been made there still remains but a single subject—life, mysterious life and its relationship to an even more mysterious physical body, the cosmos. To know this is to know all, but there is no mind able to know, able to solve the mystery, to grasp the secret in its totality; hence we will doubtless continue to have the so called specialist who prides himself on his knowledge of a particular "speck," a certain phase of the unknown whole, an infinitesimal part of the baffling enigma. Yet in this educational development which seeks the synthesis of data and the value of that data in aiding man to understand himself and his relation to the universal all, one cannot but detect a molding influence working toward a nobler and more effective civilization.

EDWARD ARTHUR ROCKWOOD.

Did Clemenceau State the Truth?

M. Clemenceau has justly been described as a splendid Frenchman, a great statesman and a charming visitor. In view, however, precisely of the great admiration and affection which the American people showed for him, it seems desirable to correct a few of his public utterances which perhaps were based on inaccurate informations.

1. In his first speech in the Metropolitan Opera House in New York Clemenceau said: *"There are no black troops on the Rhine."*

The facts about this have been stated in a cable to the Chicago *Tribune* by Major Gen. Henry T. Allen, in command of the American forces in Europe. He says: "The French army has no black units from Madagascar nor from Senegal.

"The 24,000 native troops of various shades, from white to dark brown, comprising the Algerians, Moroccan and Tunisian regiments, include about 27 per cent. white French and a few black soldiers from Northern Africa. 400 Annamites used in the motor service also are included. The North African troops are predominantly of Arab stock." (thus 27 per cent. are white!—)

2. *"Germany is preparing for a new war in violation of the Peace Treaty of Versailles."*

General Sir Francis Bingham, the Chief of the Interallied Military Control Commission with headquarters in Berlin has declared M. Clemenceau's fears as groundless. The whole of Germany has been swept clean of "all war supplies worth mentioning," he said, and he "did not feel that M. Clemenceau's charges were a compliment to the Commission."

3. In his speech in Boston, M. Clemenceau said that "400,000 *guns have been found in Germany since July* 1, 1921."

The Boston *Evening Transcript* of Nov. 24 pub-

lished a refutation of this allegation by a General of the Interallied Commission in Berlin (whose special province is the control of artillery making) who said that "there was not the slightest ground for M. Clemenceau's statement." The Commission had "every German establishment capable of making guns under closest supervision. He knew positively that nothing was being done contrary to the Treaty provisions."

4. In Boston, M. Clemenceau said: "*The German taxpayer pays only* $15 *per year and the French taxpayer pays* $45." (N. Y. *Times,* Nov. 25.)

In 1922, the average amount paid by the German taxpayer was infinitely higher than $15. The following taxes were in force: Emergency tax (*Notopfer*), income tax, war profits tax, inheritance tax, corporations tax, export duties, capital increment tax, customs, coal tax, and sales taxes (in addition to the municipal and church taxes, etc.).

The chief source of Government revenue was the printing of billions of paper currency which is but a different form of taxation. The total amount raised from these various sources amounted to about 400 billion marks. Since the value of the mark fluctuates daily, it is impossible to state the exact amount in dollars, because the same amount of marks which were equal to $15 in December 1922, was 30 times greater in the earlier part of the year. The German income tax rates in 1922 were based on a sliding scale: *All* incomes below 250,000 marks, 10 per cent. tax; 500,000 marks, 13.75 per cent. tax; 1,000,000 marks, 21.15 per cent. tax; 2,000,000 marks, 29 per cent. tax; 5,000,000 marks, 41 per cent. tax; 8,000,000 marks, 46.72 per cent. tax; 10,000,000 marks (or $2,000), 49 per cent. tax; above 250,000,000 marks, 60 per cent. tax. Every worker has 10 per cent. for taxes deducted from his wages *before* he receives them. This is not so in France. A German having an income of 8 million marks, the present equivalent of $1,000, has to pay an income tax of $467.20. A Frenchman making 14,000 francs, or $1,000, pays less than 3,000 francs, or $200, in income tax, thus about one-half of what the German taxpayer is forced to pay!

5. M. Clemenceau finally stated: "*We were not prepared in* 1914." History may some day reveal the truth about this important and delicate point. The English publicist, E. D. Morel, M. P., in a recent pamphlet, has compiled statistics showing that France and Russia were far better armed than their adversaries in 1914. In his magazine *Foreign Affairs* he reveals the text of an "Eighth Conference" between the Russian General Gilinsky and the French General Joffre, held in Paris on July 13, 1912, in which it was arranged that more than 1,300,000 troops were to be concentrated on the German frontier in the case of war, in accordance with a military convention dated as far back as August 17, 1892! The French General Buat has stated that France was "at least equal if not superior to her formidable adversary in the number of principal units, at the beginning of the war!" Thus the books are not closed on this point.

I would not for a moment maintain that Germany was not prepared, nor in any way defend German militarism. But to say in all seriousness that France was not prepared in 1914, as M. Clemenceau did, is certainly far from true, even granting that he sincerely believes it!

JOHN MEZ.

CORRESPONDENCE

A Plea for Clear Thinking

To the Editor of UNITY:

Dr. Dieffenbach's letter on the position of *The Christian Register* regarding war justifies a plea for clear thinking. He holds that war is sin, but that nevertheless we ought in certain circumstances to engage in war. This is to say that sometimes it is our duty to sin—a self-contradictory proposition like the statement that black is sometimes white.

"Peace at any price and under all conditions may be as immoral between aggregations of people called nations as it is between individuals." But the question at issue is rather whether "peace at any price and under all conditions" between nations can be as immoral as *war* between nations. Individuals may be good or bad. Certain individuals should doubtless be subject to forcible coercion, and organized society is able without serious risk to coerce such individuals for their own good as well as for the general welfare. But a nation composed of millions of men, women, and children cannot as a whole be either good or bad. Said Burke: "I confess I do not know how to draw up an indictment against a whole people." War involves whole peoples in disaster, innocent individuals as well as guilty, little children being among the greatest sufferers. Herein lies the essential, undeniable, unequaled, even unapproachable *immorality* of war.

Moreover war brings woe to both sides in approximately equal measure, quite regardless of the military outcome in victory or defeat. Says Bertrand Russell: "War, righteous or unrighteous, defensive or offensive, means, thanks to modern science, the death of all that has value on both sides. Herein lies the unspeakable *idiocy* of war." As Justice Clarke, lately retired from the Supreme Court in order to devote himself to the cause of peace, has said: "Civilization must rid the earth of war, or war will rid the earth of civilization."

While reaffirming his endorsement of Dr. Smith's assertion that "war is sin," the editor who is not a pacifist in any weather, fair or other, suggests that sin is present in "any large human enterprise, in industry, politics, even the Church, enmeshed with the good, only in war it is immeasurably more so." Well, a difference that is *immeasurable* must be very great, great enough, perhaps, to explain the fact that up to date neither Dr. Smith nor any other respectable teacher of morals and religion has affirmed that industry is a sin, or that politics is a sin, or that going to church is a sin. But Dr. Smith did see fit to declare that war is a sin, and the non-pacifist editor expressed assent. It seemed, I dare say, to most people that Dr. Smith had said something important and had said it clearly. Does Dr. Dieffenbach now desire to tone it down till it shall be consistent with his own avowed readiness to support war in certain circumstances? Can he tell specifically what the circumstances are in which it becomes a *duty* to commit *sin?*

Doubtless there is an ingredient of sin in every large human enterprise, and likewise an ingredient of virtue in every war,—on both sides too, and not merely on the side that is "either not guilty or less guilty." It is the ratio of the good ingredient to the bad that warrants the designation of war as a sin, while making it impossible to assert that industry is a sin.

"War is sin because it is impossible for an army to wage war, however right its cause, without hate for its enemy." Good heavens! This is on the level of the Little Willie rhymes of innocent childish atrocity.

> "Little Willie hung his sister;
> She was dead before we missed her!
> Willie's always up to tricks,—
> Ain't he cute, he's only six!"

What matter that the sister is dead? Little Willie meant no harm. Wholesale killing by machinery and poisonous gas, the starvation of women and children by blockade,—if only it could be done without hate, in devotion to a good cause, would not be sin! What astounding shallowness! It is the killing that is the reality of war, though the word "war" has become euphemistic and does not always even suggest that reality,—it is the *killing* that is of serious and permanent importance and not the emotions with which the killing is done. Turning strong young men into corpses, multiplying widows and orphans, would be the same enormity of foolishness and wickedness whatever the feelings of those who did it. Hate is condemned in the New Testament because it leads to killing. But Dr. Dieffenbach condemns killing because it leads to hate!

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

MR. HOLMES' ITINERARY THROUGH THE MIDDLE WEST.

(Speaking Trip January 15-25.)

Jan. 15—aft.—Detroit, Mich., Review Club, "Europe—Whither Bound?"

Jan. 17—eve.—Cleveland, Ohio, Euclid Avenue Congregational Church, "Russia As I Saw It in 1922."

Jan. 18—aft.—Chicago, Ill., University of Chicago, "Russia After the Revolution."

Jan. 19—a. m.—Chicago, Ill., Abraham Lincoln Centre, "Russia After the Revolution."

Jan. 19—eve.—Madison, Wis., University of Wisconsin, "Europe—Whither Bound?"

Jan. 20—noon—Minneapolis, Minn., Saturday Lunch Club, "Russia As I Saw It in 1922."

Jan. 20—eve.—Minneapolis, Minn., Unitarian Laymen's League, "Russia After the Revolution."

Jan. 21—a. m.—Minneapolis, Minn., 1st Unitarian Church, "What Must the World Do to Be Saved?"

Jan. 21—aft.—St. Paul, Minn., Women's City Club, "Europe—Whither Bound?"

Jan. 22—aft.—Chicago, Ill., Women's Club, "Caste and Democracy."

Jan. 23—eve.—Chicago, Ill., Temple Sholem, "Europe in 1922 As One Traveller Saw It."

Jan. 24—noon—Chicago, Ill., Ministers' Liberal Club.

Jan. 24—eve.—Chicago, Ill., Washington Blvd. Temple, "What Must the World Do to Be Saved?"

Jan. 25—eve.—Buffalo, N. Y.—Social Workers' Club, "What Must the World Do to Be Saved?"

POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Present Situation.

Those Released. Of many hundreds of convictions under the Espionage Acts, all but 66 are now free, among them war profiteers, German agents, and others convicted of direct aid to Germany during the war. During the "Christmas Grace" 1921, a man was released by commutation from Leavenworth who had been sentenced for leaving the United States illegally during the war and selling plans of American machine guns to German officers in Mexico. Recently Captain Robert Fay, who attempted to blow up a munition ship in New York harbor in 1916 and who broke jail and was at large for over a year after his incarceration, was freed and permitted to slip out of the country.

Still in Jail. There are in federal prisons to-day, nearly four years after the close of the war, 66 men convicted under the Espionage Act and other wartime measures restricting the freedom of speech. All but two of these are at Leavenworth, under sentences ranging from 5 to 20 years. All but five are members of the I. W. W. convicted in the three conspiracy cases tried in Chicago, Sacramento and Kansas City. The sole charge against them is expression of opinion; charges of sabotage, destruction of property, etc., were thrown out as unproven by the appellate courts in Chicago and Wichita cases. Sacramento case—men from rank and file selected as "horrible examples" in distinction to Chicago case composed largely of officers, organizers, etc.—could not be appealed on the evidence because the men adopted the "silent defense," refusing to "participate in their own legal lynching."

Other countries granted general amnesty within a year after the war.

The Sentences. In Chicago, jurors took only fifty-five minutes to consider the cases of 100 men, and to impose sentences as follows: 15 men, 20 years each; 33 men, 10 years each; 33 men, 5 years each; 1 man, 18 months; 12 men, 1 year and 1 day; 2 men, 10 days in the county jail; 4 men, no sentence; sentences parcelled out "in a haphazard manner."

The Kansas City cases range from 7½ to 9 years; the Sacramento cases from 5 to 10 years.

The Kind of Men They Are.

As Seen by an Outsider. "A thoroughly mixed lot—almost a cross-section—of typical American workingmen. Most of them are manual workers—from the mines, logging camps, the ships and docks, and from the harvest fields of the west. A number are skilled mechanics from the cities, and a few are professional men—writers, editors of labor papers, and one a lawyer (though not a member of the I. W. W.).

"They are for the most part strong, robust men in the thirties and forties, self-educated and therefore well-educated, alert on industrial and economic issues—characterized as a whole by personal earnestness, and almost religious zeal for the cause of the working-class. * * * Abounding in good humor, of almost no bitterness of spirit, of conspicuous integrity and clean habits of living. * * * After three years of imprisonment, the men's spirits on the whole are high, their unity unbroken, their radical working-class philosophy untouched."

As Reported by One of Their Own Number. "Practically all of these 52 men (the I. W. W. who have refused to apply for pardon) have taken up some definite study or course of reading and are fitting themselves for various kinds of work and social service. They have in a sense, in so far as such a place will permit, dominated their surroundings and made their own world. Several have enrolled in the University of Wisconsin extension courses in electricity, medicine and so on, many are writers."

Some of Them as Individuals.

James P. Thompson—after about three years on the Leavenworth "rock pile," studying mechanics in all spare time, especially in reference to motors, now has charge of prison garages and teaches in prison night school. Called "the rough-necked Isaiah of the American proletariat." Fond of quoting Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom where it is developed in detail how the industrial interests in America control the whole machinery of government.

"Red" Doran—a blacksmith and an idealist. "Conscience? He was a living and uncompromising conscience. Principle? He does not live by it. It lived in him. Honor, self-sacrifice, and love? In every conviction he expressed, these were fundamental."

Why did he not add that it leads also to an appalling amount of profanity?

When Dr. Smith said he had "not sufficient grace to be a pacifist," there is no doubt as to his meaning. He meant that personally he did not feel able to go the full length of "Tolstoian non-resistance," forswearing even the physical resistance of an attacking ruffian and disapproving of police. This extreme position is often imputed to pacifists. I suspect that Dr. Smith was ironical, really thinking not that he lacked the grace, but rather that he possessed too much sense, to go to that extreme. *He did not mean to discount his assertion that war is sin.* "If God has made anything clear to the mind of Christendom," said he, "he has revealed to us the sinfulness of war. If the Christian Church blesses another war, its blessing and its curse will have no further authority and prestige for our generation. The next war must be boycotted by the Church of Christ." Nowhere in his address is there an intimation that although war is a sin, nevertheless it may be our duty to engage in it! On the contrary it is assumed that Christians must not and will not do that which they clearly perceive to be a sin. Dr. Smith even called for a train of martyrs to seal the truth about war with their blood, if need be.

Thus he was a pacifist in the proper sense of the word, despite his disclaimer. For pacifist means simply one who opposes war, and the word is misused when it is made to mean that one would not resist a ruffian, or that one objects to policing. This misuse is common. Several months ago, Dr. Lynch, editor of *The Christian Work,* in replying to a letter of Dr. Dole, told that clear-thinking pacifist that if he objected to war consistency compelled him to object to interference with a burglar that had entered his home! Similarly Mr. Roosevelt used—as he appeared to think—to put the pacifist to utter route by asking: "What would you do if a ruffian should slap your wife's face?" It is high time that such silliness in the discussion of war should be abandoned. Pacifists recognize the necessity of physical compulsion in dealing with certain *individuals.* But they oppose war, *collective* homicide, the wholesale killing of good men by good men, choice youth by choice youth, honest workingmen by honest workingmen, Christians by Christians. Similarly the wise men who framed our Constitution made no provision for the coercion of a State by the general government but only for the coercion of individuals, a very different thing. "Coercion of a State," said Oliver Ellsworth, "would be war, which would involve both the innocent and the guilty in a common disaster."

Brookline, Mass. Henry W. Pinkham.

RALPH CHAPLIN—poet, whose singing lines have been widely printed in the radical and liberal press, a volume of whose poetry has now been published.

MORTIMER DOWNING—nearly sixty years old, a newspaper man "well-educated, widely travelled, with friends among people of influence all over the world." Refused a position in the prison printing plant, easier by far, and one for which he was fitted, to remain "runner" for "rock pile" gang, involving exposure, because thus he could serve the others best individually.

G. J. BOURG—a construction worker, with a history of indefatigable organizing for the I. W. W. in harvest fields and lumber camps. Beaten up by "Vigilantes" and "Citizens' Committees," he would crawl into camp until he was "fit," then out to work again.

SAM SCARLETT—will give no other nationality than "citizen of industry." A champion soccer football player, skilled machinist and electrician; an able speaker.

ROBERT CONNELLAN—sixty, a graduate of University of California, a chemist and a musician, playing in prison orchestra.

GEORGE O'CONNELL—a hard student; has made himself proficient in electricity.

ALEXANDER COURNOS—was assistant "weatherman" in South Dakota.

CAESAR TABIB and EDWARD QUIGLEY—suffering from tuberculosis, contracted or aggravated in Sacramento jail where they spent a year before they were brought to trial. Application for "clemency" made at earnest solicitation of their fellows refused by Department of Justice.

WILLIAM WEYH—ill with hemorrhages, 12 in a single day, from exposure on "rock pile," accepted release only after declaring in writing, "I have not wavered in my adherence to the I. W. W. and its principles."

(Continued.)

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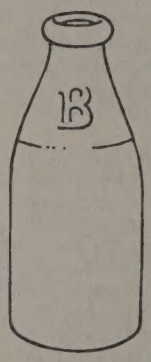

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